

«ESTE LUGAR É SAGRADO...»:
THE CREATION AND RE-CREATION
OF SACREDNESS IN FÁTIMA *

ALI MURAT YEL **

I. Introduction

There is no sacredness here! exclaimed my friend who visited me in the «field» after. I had showed him the *Santuário* (sanctuary or shrine) and its environs. My friend was absolutely right in claiming that there is nothing sacred in Fátima. This paper aims at the way in which the sacredness of Fátima is created and maintained throughout the pilgrimage. This process is not only elaborated and intensified at the shrine itself but also it requires a conscious and active participation by the pilgrims as well.

The notion of «sacred» is regarded by Emile Durkheim as constituting the defining feature of the religious phenomenon in society [Durkheim, 1915]. I totally agree with Durkheim's argument that the quality of sacred stems from society itself and it is one expression of collective solidarity. If I understand Durkheim correctly, the sacred

* This paper is based on my a few months' field experience since I have not completed my fieldwork, what I am presenting here is some «work in progress». I am grateful to the Islamic Research Centre (Istanbul, Turkey) for their financial support to the research upon which this paper is based. I should also like to thank Dr. Alfred Gell who is supervising my doctoral thesis and the authorities in the Sanctuary of Fátima, especially Mons. Luciano Gomes Paulo Guerra (Reitor do Santuário de Fátima) and Dr. Coelho Cristino (Director do Serviço de Estudos e Difusão do Santuário de Fátima) who have given me permission to use the Sanctuary's Library and their invaluable assistance.

** Ali Murat Yel is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London).

does not exist itself but it is the attachment and reverence of people that makes something sacred. The concept is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as «made holy by religious association» (emphasis added). The Cova da Iria (where Our Lady was supposed to have appeared to three children) seems to be a theatrical stage on which different actors play their parts to create the sacredness of this place. In the following sections I will try to elaborate the enactment of this creation and re-creation.

II. The myth of Fátima

There is vast devotional literature, which were examined by the author of this paper elsewhere (Yel, 1992), on the events of Fátima in 1916 and 1917. According to the devotional accounts, in 1916 an angel came to three little shepherds (Lúcia Santos, Francisco and Jacinta Marto) on three occasions inviting them to prayer, sacrifice and reparation for the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. The angel taught them some prayers and how to make sacrifices for the sins of people. He also delivered them Holy Communion, giving the host to Lúcia and the contents of his chalice, which miraculously suspended in the air, to Francisco and Jacinta at the *Loca do Cabeço*.

On the 13th of May in 1917 «A lady more brilliant than the sun» appeared to the children at the Cova da Iria. Today a statue of Our Lady of Fátima stands exactly at that spot. At the time Lúcia was ten years old and her cousins Francisco nine and her sister Jacinta seven years old. That year, May through October the same lady appeared to them at noon on the 13th of each month except August. In August she appeared on the 19th at Valinhos since the administrator of Vila Nova de Ourém had taken the children into captivity on the 13th.

In her apparitions the lady asked the children to say the rosary and the consecration of Russia to her Immaculate Heart otherwise Russia would spread her errors over the world, provoking wars and persecutions of the Church and if this consecration is carried out, she would be converted and there would be peace for some time in the world (for a detailed account of consecration, see Tindal-Robertson, 1992).

It is said that the lady also gave them one secret divided in three parts, two of which have been known since 1941: (first one has just been mentioned; the coming of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia). There would be a punishment by God for our sins and a great world

war would break out worse than the one which was going on at the time of apparitions (the World War I). In order to avoid this punishment in this world and the hell in the next, one should have a special devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The third secret was written by Lúcia in 1944 and sent to Rome in an envelope in 1958. Pope John XXIII read it, more recent popes and some of their cardinals have also read it, but none of them has considered it important to publish.

The lady performed a miracle in her last apparition. The sun seemed to detach from the sky and fall down on the people. After some time the sun returned to its place. This miracle was referred to by the eye-witnesses as «the sun danced in the sky».

These events took place at a time when most of the European states were involved in the first World War, when the plans of the Bolshevik Revolution were carried out in Russia, and when Portugal was in difficult political, social and economic circumstances, more crucially, anti-clericalism was in operation and the religious freedom was heavily restricted.

After a short time Francisco (04.04.1919) and Jacinta (20.02.1920) were «taken to heaven» as was foretold by Virgin Mary (for the critical accounts about the apparitions, see Santuário de Fátima, 1992 and for controversial ones, Fonseca, 1958; Ilharco, 1971; Séde, 1977 and D'Armada, 1980).

I must stress the fact that I am not using the concept of myth here as in daily language to mean «a false tale», I treat the notion as a social product which, on the surface, seems irrational like the case in our hands: after two millennium of her death the Virgin Mary is believed to have appeared in Fátima, a phenomenon which could be called, in Levi-Straussian techniques of myth analysis, as an opposition of nature and culture. This opposition has easily been accepted by the believers as a manifestation of divine intervention.

We could also analyze the myth of Fátima from the viewpoint of Marxist theory of ideology which helps us to understand how the opposition of nature and culture has served as justification and mystification of the present state of affairs and made Fátima seem eternal and sacred, i.e. supernatural.

In recent times, throughout the last century and the beginning of this one, Our Lady seems to have become more and more concerned with the affairs of men. The reading and hearing of awesome stories

of the visitations of the Mother of God to her children on earth, on the one hand increase the devotion to Our Lady and on the other, make those localities pilgrimage centres which obviously means sacred places. Here I wish to underline the complementary aspects of myth and ritual: devotees go on pilgrimage to Fátima because of the myth of Our Lady's supposed presence 75 years ago.

III. The developments of the shrine

Soon after the first apparitions the faithful began to pour into Fátima and the construction of the chapel started. On the 13th of October in 1921 the first mass was celebrated in the Chapel of Apparitions at the Cova da Iria. The bishop, who was assigned to investigate the apparitions, on October 13, 1930, declared the Fátima apparitions worthy of acceptance. On the Silver Anniversary of the apparitions (October 31, 1942) Pope Pius XII consecrated the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. His holiness also raised the shrine in Fátima to Basílica rank in November 12, 1954. Ten years later Pope Paul VI renewed Pius XII's consecration of the world, specifically mentioning Russia, to the I.H.M..

On the 13th of May in 1967 Pope Paul VI went to Fátima for the fiftieth anniversary of the apparitions. The present Pope, John Paul II, a year after the assassination attempt on his life, went to Fátima to pray in thanksgiving for surviving the attempt on May 13, 1981 at St. Peter's Square in Rome. On the tenth anniversary of the attempted assassination, John Paul II went to Fátima as a pilgrim for the second time (May 13, 1991). To fulfill Our Lady's wish «on 24 March 1984 Pope John Paul II knelt before a white statuette of Our Lady of Fátima in St. Peter's Square and, watched by a crowd of 150.000 and a potencial television audience of one bilion, dedicated the planet to the Immaculate Heart of Mary» (Perry and Echverría, 1988; 1). Shortly after this remarkable event, Sister Lúcia (who is in a Carmelite convent in Coimbra at present) told the Papal Nuncio of Lisbon that the conditions God required for the collegial consecration of Russia were accomplished (for a detailed account of the developments in Fátima, see Rodrigues, 1974, Rinschede, 1988 and Oliveira, 1990).

Now I wish to return to the main theme of the paper and try to analyze the process of creation and re-creation of the sacredness in Fátima.

IV. The Santuário de Nossa Senhora de Fátima

The *religious centre* is the area of the Santuário in Cova da Iria with the Basílica of the Rosary, the stations of the cross under the colonnade both on left and right sides of the Basílica. In the *Recinto do Santuário* (sanctuary square) there is a *Capelinha das Aparições* (chapel of apparitions) and the *Azinheira Grande* (holm oak) between the Capelinha and the Basílica. In the centre of the Recinto is a *Fontanário* (the spring and monument to the Heart of Jesus) to whose water some miraculous cures are attributed. In addition to these «holy» places on both sides of the Recinto there is a hospital building (*Albergue dos Doentes*) and *Casa Nossa Senhora de Carmo* which is the administration building of the Santuário. *Centro Pastoral de Paulo VI* (Pastoral Centre of Paul VI) is situated on the other side of the main access road to the south, which was officially inaugurated by John Paul II on the 13th of May 1982, here the spiritual and pastoral activities take place such as conferences and courses.

The Capelinha is the *coração do Santuário* (heart of the shrine) where most of the religious activities take place such as *missa* in different vernaculars and *terço* (prayer of the rosary), etc. Although there is an official time-table of religious activities at the Capelinha almost all the pilgrim priests want to celebrate a mass with their respective pilgrim groups. During the peak season, however, their wish cannot be granted by the officials of the Santuário therefore they seek another chapel outside the shrine such as the chapels of the Blue Army, Hotel Verbo Divino or Casa de Beato Nuno.

Here I wish to add a few words about the linguistic aspects of the word *capelinha*. The diminutive form is widely used in Portuguese. According to my observations, the Portuguese prefer the diminutive forms of many words, *obrigadinho* being the most common. It derives from the word *obrigado* (thank you) contrary to its literal meaning (*obrigado*-a small thank-you) it actually means something like in English «thanks a million». This form of the word has the qualities of courtesy, respect and more importantly it shows a mutual closeness and affection between the speaker and the receiver, like the word *mãezinha* (mãe-mother). In Portuguese *capela* means «chapel» (small or private church). There are a few *capelas* in the Santuário for example Capela da Reconciliação where the confessions are made. But none of them has, for the pilgrims, the quality of affection and the feeling of closeness to the divine like *capelinha*.

Spatial considerations during the Fátima pilgrimage are exceedingly complex. Although many people (especially Santuário officials) regard the town itself as «*um sítio de oração*» (a local of prayer) it is the shrine that becomes a dramatic set in one moment, a sacred precinct in another. Despite the fact that the Basílica, the Capelinha and the statue of Our Lady are permanently sacred, the Recinto temporarily becomes so if a procession moves on it; when the statue is carried in procession, a wake of sacred space is generated. Since she is taken from the Capelinha to the huge altar in the Recinto, the effect is to sacralize the moment momentarily. During the procession a hierarchical space is also created; this space belongs to the statue and the clergy (bishops and priests). I have never seen nuns and sisters participating in the procession although the action itself is a veneration of a female (Our Lady), the female members of the Church are only spectators. Everything is handled by men. In my opinion the Capelinha is the main instrument which creates a sacredness in the Cova da Iria; the spot where the statue of Our Lady stands constitutes the religious centre as one of the pilgrims stated *mais perto da Capelinha, mais sagrado* (the closer to the Capelinha, the more sacred). The story of the apparitions is the charter which warrants her special standing, as recognized by the Vatican and the devotees of the cult of Fátima. Ordinarily she (because people refer to the statue as «she» not «it») sits high in her special place in the Capelinha to receive prayers but periodically she makes visits riding in a catafalque carried by people who have been chosen by the Santuário officials. Just behind the statue is a tiny chapel like a doll-house where the hosts are deposited. This tiny chapel symbolizes the womb of the Virgin Mary from which the host «flesh of Jesus» comes out and is distributed to the faithful during communion.

The presence of the Statue makes the place sacred (spatial sacredness) and the big candle on the altar in the Capelinha marks the sacred time (temporal sacredness) because outside the religious activities this candle is not lit. In order to understand why this statue is «holy» and not her replicas sold in the souvenir shops outside the Santuário we must consider the other activities in which the statue is involved: First of all is this statue that is used during the candle-lit processions in the Recinto. She is also venerated by the priests and nuns; whenever they have to pass in front of the statue they stop for a moment and bow their heads with respect. When Pope John Paul II came to Fá-

tima as a pilgrim, he prayed in front of this image and kissed her feet (this particular moment is always reminded to people by the posters, calendars and book covers the Pope kneeling before the statue and praying). This event also clearly shows the Church's attitude towards the Fátima pilgrimage: the main objective being «Fátima as a place of prayer» rather than a place in which miraculous cures occur from time to time (for the shift from «miraculous discourse» to «sacrificial discourse», see the individual papers in Eade and Sallnow, 1991).

Unlike the very modern but simple style of the Capelinha, it is the Basílica with its neo-hellenic and neo-roman style, which looks more «religious», in other words, «sacred» in the Santuário. Although it is a work of a Dutch architect (Gerard van Kriecken) and the statue of Immaculate Heart of Mary on its façade being a work of an American sculptor (Thomas McGlyn), the Basílica caters to the Portuguese pilgrims since all the religious celebrations are in the Portuguese language; therefore the little chapel is for «others» but the Basílica is mainly for the Portuguese. For «other» pilgrims the Basílica is an ordinary church, which they can see anywhere else, because they rarely participate in a Portuguese mass or a local wedding ceremony on Saturdays. Therefore they have very little interest on the Basílica. The presence of the Basílica, however, helps to create a sacred space in the Santuário, especially the murals which depict the Way of the Cross in the colonnades (for the importance of the murals in religious imagination and their role in formulating the definitions of sacred power and space, see Campo, 1987 and 1990).

A pilgrimage centre is universally regarded as a place of intersection between everyday life and the life of God (Eliadian dichotomy of sacred and profane). Due to being a scene of a manifestation of a divine power or having an association with a holy person, it is worthy of reverence otherwise it is just an ordinary geographical location like any other. The main Christian idea of pilgrimage is going to Palestine to understand holy scripture better; when one sees with his/her own eyes Judea (its ruins of ancient cities, rather) she let the Bible come alive. But today Jerusalem seems to be losing its importance for the Catholics (although I am aware that many of them would like to go there) and they are preferring local, especially Marian shrines such as Guadalupe and Lourdes. According to the statistics each year more than four million people visit Lourdes and I calculate that the local number of Catholic pilgrims to Guadalupe, Lourdes,

Fátima and Rome outweighs the number who go to the Holy Land from the whole Christendom. The reasons of preference of Marian shrines are beyond the scope of this paper and will be dealt elsewhere. Returning to my theme, the Santuário of Fátima was a scene of a divine intervention and it is this mere belief of intervention that makes the place sacred on the part of the faithful.

The priests and nuns, in their habits, create another notion of sacredness when they walk around either in the Santuário or its environs. It is not infrequent to see a priest blessing some religious objects in the hands of old women.

The statues of Jesus Christ, the saints, the two popes (Paul VI and Pius XIII) and most importantly the *Cruz Alta* (High Cross) which marks the end of the Holy Year in 1950, can be counted as sacred-aspiring or-creating objects in the Santuário.

Now I wish to touch upon the politics of spatial organization in the Santuário very briefly. During my stay in Fátima I have observed that the Portuguese have passion for the activities which take place in the open-air. I have participated in several local *festas* (feasts) in the villages of Fátima. Although a local festa in honour of the patron saint of the village consist of a celebration of Eucharist in the church very few (especially old women) go to church. But when it comes to the more profane activities in the *arraial* (open place) almost everybody including some people from the neighbouring villages participate in them and they stay up very late sometimes until the next morning. The clergy, in general, prefer all the religious activities under the «roof» of the church. The passion of the people for activities in the open-air and the clergy's insistence of everything being under a roof resulted in an open-air church in the Santuário. In this way the people have an *arraial*, and the clergy a church in which they could control all the activities under an invisible «roof». The official discourse gives support to my interpretation of the spatial organization in the Santuário. They claim that Recinto is like a big open-air church which has a Cross, an Altar, a Way of Cross and images of saints (*como uma grande igreja ao ar livre que é, tem uma Cruz, um Altar, uma Via-Sacra e imagens de santos*). (For an anthropological study of local festas, see Sanchis, 1983).

Above all, during my stay in Fátima, what struck me most was the pilgrims who walk on their knees on a specially made smooth path starting from the Cruz Alta to the Capelinha (the length of which is

some 150 m.). As far as I am aware, walking on knees is a disputed subject between the Santuário officials and the pilgrims. The officials, and the religious experts in general, are against this promessa (vow) but the only thing they could do was to prohibit walking on all fours. Nevertheless, I have witnessed, especially late at night, some pilgrims walking — it is not walking actually, maybe crawling — with their faces on the ground. In my opinion, this self-inflicted violence, also, makes the space seem sacred (Talal Asad deals with the subject of body pain in medieval Christian ritual from a Foucaudian viewpoint; Asad, 1983).

V. The artigos religiosos or the souvenir shops

Pilgrimage is not only a matter of visiting designated sacred places, or rather, shrines. Pilgrimage stimulates economic as well as religious transactions in a wide system of exchange. Due to the influx of the pilgrims almost all the pilgrimage towns have developed an economic infra-structure such as hotels, restaurants, banks, shopping centres, and naturally souvenir shops which sell sorts of religious articles like statuettes, devotional pictures, candles, shrine water, etc.. In fact, souvenirs are tangible evidences of travel that are shared with family and friends back at home. But on the other hand, spending more time in the souvenir shops, rather than the shrine and buying souvenirs are very often considered to be a tourist's, not a pilgrim's behaviour, and many of the «real» pilgrims asserted their dislike of commercialism usually making a comparison between Lourdes and Fátima hoping that one day Fátima should not be another Lourdes. Fátima is not much commercialized like Lourdes, but the Santuário controls the «religious industry» in a sense; the Santuário owns a big bookshop and an *artigos religiosos* (religious articles) shop in the immediate vicinity of the shrine, and another shop nearby. When I asked the officials why the Santuário possesses these shops, I was told that they want to moderate, or keep the prices low. There are two shopping centres on both sides of the shrine built by the Santuário. These shopping centres are u-shaped and have 45 small, kiosk-like souvenir shops. The Santuário gave these shops to people in return of their land at the Cova da Iria on which the Santuário was built. According to the local people, any person who wants to set up

a business (may it be a hotel or a new shopping centre) he should comply with the shrine regulations concerning the urbanization plants of Fátima; for example one cannot have a building higher than the Basílica or any building obstacles the view of the shrine and one also cannot have a bar selling alcoholic drinks in the radius of 3Km from the shrine, etc. This clearly shows how the Santuário exercises its power both on the religious and economic exchange.

What is relevant to the purpose of this paper is how these shops help to create a religious atmosphere in the town. As was said earlier, there are so many attempts to create sacredness inside the shrine; in my opinion, the statuettes and devotional pictures create a sort of sacredness outside the shrine. One can hardly avoid these religious articles because the hotels have a souvenir shop, and almost all the restaurants and cafés (which are supposed to be secular centres of the town) have a small corner inside the shop to sell souvenirs. I even saw a butcher selling these articles. Everywhere in the town one feels as if in a church.

VI. The pilgrims

Os peregrinos (the pilgrims) are the most important actors in this play to create a «sacredness». The process of creating the sacred, on the pilgrims part, starts before the journey when they hear or read about Fátima for the first time. With the help of the «approval» by the Vatican, they develop a myth of Fátima.

Policarpo Lopes claims that the pilgrimage centre has different significance to different people according to their existential experience and different types of collective lives. He successfully demonstrates how the phenomenon of Fátima makes the identity of immigrant actors sacred in a double process of myth and rites of pilgrimage (see Lopes, 1986 and 1992):

«...nous voyons le pèlerinage comme une acte global de sacralisation. Départ et ses motivations, déplacement spatial dans une 'voie Sacrée' rencontre avec un 'locus' imprégné de sacralité, captation de la puissance sacrale à travers les pratiques individuelles et collectives, retour dans la société de départ et mémoire d'un vécu, forment un tout sacralisant» (Lopes, 1986; 1992).

As we have seen from this quote, the Portuguese immigrant worker in Belgium, even before his journey to Fátima, has already made his mind up that he is travelling into a sacred place, in other words the sacredness of Fátima exists in his mind to fill the «*paradis perdu*». Like the Portuguese immigrant workers, pilgrims easily accept the sacredness of Fátima as their guides or guide-books suggest (the Santuário being the «most sacred» place and Aljustrel, Valinhos, and the children's houses being «other holy» sites). As an answer to my question of «what do you feel in Fátima?» the pilgrims respond «such a peace!» to echo the Turners, they were coming from a profane centre to a religious, holy periphery to seek *communitas* (Turner and Turner, 1978).

As José da Silva Lima argues, in many churches of Minho (Northern Portugal) although there is an altar for *Nossa Senhora de Fátima*, people still go to the Cova da Iria in spite of the clergy's discourse of «it is the same Mother of God». They prefer going to Fátima because the *Nossa Senhora de Fátima* in their church lacks

- the fascination of distance,
- the long history of her outstanding abilities,
- the rumour and the hope of miracles, and
- the attraction of the personal investment of the difficulty of journey which is a merit itself and a way of expressing one's love (Lima, 1991).

The pilgrims are also under the exercise of power by the Santuário; they are reminded of the sacredness of the shrine every time they enter it by the warning plates stating «este lugar é sagrado entre como um peregrino» (this is a holy place enter as a pilgrim), in six different languages. Even the mere presence of these plates makes me question whether the place is sacred because nowhere in the world can one see such warning before entering a temple may it be a church, a synagog or a mosque because everybody knows that that place is sacred; maybe not for himself but followers of that particular religion to which the temple belongs. What I am trying to say is if the place is sacred, why need to remind people by trying to make them believe that the space is considered to be sacred? Because they have already decided that this place is *santo* (holy, sacred) and they believe that Our Lady is present here and she chose to appear in this *terra* (land).

«Welcome Pilgrim!

In this PLACE OF PRAYER we consider it shocking and unseemly to wear shorts, bathing dress, and other unbecoming form of attire which leave the body uncovered.

Dear pilgrim, leave outside the curiosity and the manner of dress proper to a tourist. In heart and soul, you deserve that Fátima should be for you a time and place of prayer, a time and place of peace!»

Rectory of the Sanctuary

As it can be seen from this announcement the shrine officials designate the space and time as holy. Therefore the pilgrims are forced to obey the power of the shrine and believe that Fátima is a sacred place.

I would like to conclude by stating that there is a constant attempt to create and maintain the sacredness in Fátima but as being a metaphysical notion, the sacred exists only in the minds of people who have the faith and look for it.

Bibliography

- Asad, Talal 1983. «Notes on body pain and truth in medieval Christian ritual». *Annual Reviews of Anthropology*, 12: 287-327.
- Campo, Juan 1987. «Shrines and talismans: domestic Islam in the pilgrimage paintings of Egypt». *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 55 (no. 2): 285-305.
- 1990. *The Other Sides of Paradise: The Religious Meanings of Domestic Space in Islam*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- D'Armada, Fina 1980. *Fátima: O que se passou em 1917*, Livraria Bertrand, Amadora.
- Durkheim, Emile 1915 [1964]. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, (translated by J. W. Swain), George Allen and Unwin, London.
- Eade, J. and M. Sallnow (Eds.) 1991. *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, Routledge, London.

- Fonseca, Tomás da 1958. *Na Cova dos Leões*, Lisboa.
- Ilharco, João 1971. *Fátima Desmascarada*, Coimbra.
- Lima, José da Silva 1991. «As Devoções Marianas no Norte de Portugal: Perspectiva Antropológica na Actualidade», *Maria nos Caminhos da Igreja*, 173-183, Editorial Verbo.
- Lopes, Policarpo 1986. «Le pèlerinage à Fatima: Processus d'une transaction entre tradition et modernité à partir d'une situation migratoire» *Social Compass*, XXXVIII/1: 91-106.
- 1992, *Signification de Fatima dans une Situation d'Émigration*, Edições Poseidon, Albufeira.
- Oliveira, F. Pereira de 1990. *Fátima: Como Nasceu e Cresceu*, Edição da Câmara Municipal de Ourém, Ourém.
- Perry, N. and L. Echverría 1988. *Under the Heel of Mary*, Routledge, London.
- Rinschede, Gisbert 1988. «The Pilgrimage Center of Fatima», *Geographia Religionum*, 4: 65-98.
- Rodrigues, Maria de Fátima 1974. *Fátima: Problemas Geográficos de um Centro de Peregrinação*, Instituto de Alta Cultura, Lisboa.
- Sanchis, Pierre 1988. *Arraial: Festa de um Povo — as romarias portuguesas*, Publicações Dom Quixote, Lisboa.
- Santuário de Fátima 1992. *Documentação Crítica de Fátima: I — Interrogatórios aos Videntes*, Santuário de Fátima, Fátima.
- Sède, Gérard de 1977. *Fátima: Enquête sur une Imposture*, Éditions Alain Moreau, Paris.
- Turner, V. and E. Turner 1978. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives*, Columbia U.P., New York.
- Yel, Ali Murat 1992. *The Reconstruction of a Shrine: Fátima-Religion, Nationalism and Politics in Portugal*, unpublished research proposal, the London School of Economics (University of London).